Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIII - No. 48 | NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1949 | PRICE: FIVE CENTS

N.Y. Seamen Fight Curran's Dictatorship Moves in NMU

SP Leaders Urge Party to End Its Electoral Activity

A majority of the top leaders of the Socialist Party, including its six-time presidential candidate Norman Thomas, have proposed that the party abandon its traditional policy of independent electoral opposition to all capitalist parties and candidates. This undoubtedly is a preliminary to complete abdication of independent electoral activity.

At a meeting in Milwaukee, the majority of the SP National Executive Board voted to urge the SP national convention, to be held next spring, to adopt what the Nov. 18 **Socialist Call** terms "a new policy of limited electoral activity."

This policy is embodied in a majority resolution supported by Thomas, Tucker P. Smith, Maynard Krueger, Martin Diamond, Hy Fish, Harry Fleischman and William Becker. A minority of five, Darlington Hoopes, Alfred E. Tong, Robin Myers, Harvey Taylor and John Mecartney, voted for a resolution to continue the party's past policy.

PROPOSED POLICY

The core of the proposed new policy is contained in that section of the majority resolution which reads:

"Candidates [of the SP] should not be nominated where a campaign would contribute, or seem to our potential supporters to contribute, to the triumph of reactionary candidates and policies opposed by labor and liberal forces. This does not imply, however, that the Socialist Party, as such, should endorse candidates of either of the two major parties."

This means that the SP would no longer run candidates in opposition to capitalist politicians who are labeled "progressive" and are backed by such groups as the CIO Political Action Committee, the AFL Labor's League for Political Education and Americans for Democratic Action. There are few instances, nationally or locally, where these organizations will not be backing "progressive" candidates.

Since opposition to Truman is considered by these "potential supporters" of the SP "to contribute to the triumph of reactionary candidates and policies," the proposed new policy undoubtedly contemplates that the SP will not oppose Truman, if he runs, in the 1952 national elections.

OPENS THE WAY

Even if the resolution does not "imply" that the SP "as such" will endorse capitalist party candidates, it would clearly open the way for SP members as individuals to support candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties.

A section of the resolution states that "this resolution constitutes an explicit abandonment of electoral action as the primary function of the Socialist Party." Since running candidates has been the principal SP activity, it is hard to see what its future independent activity as a party will consist of.

The resolution gives more than a hint of the future role of the

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Backs New Policy

NORMAN THOMAS

Relief Payments Slashed in N. Y.

Just prior to revealing that New York City's relief rolls had risen in October for the 11th straight month, Welfare Commissioner Raymond M. Hilliard ordered a general slash of $2 per person per month in the relief allowances. The pretext: "Declining prices."

The 320,699 persons forced to subsist on relief had been receiving the munificent average grant of $40.68 a month to "live" on. It will now be about $38.68. Hilliard answered "Lie!" to charges that relief is at "starvation levels."

PRO-TITO DISSIDENTS IN ITALY START NEW PARTY

It has been known for some time that strong dissident Stalinist tendencies sympathetic to the struggle of the Yugoslavs existed in Italy, particularly in Turin, Genoa, Leghorn, Palermo and other cities.

Now comes news of the formal organization on a local scale of a pro-Titoist party. It was launched in Terni, an industrial center 60 miles from Rome. The founder is Morelli who resigned his post as mayor of Terni and his membership in the Italian CP when he Yugoslavs were expelled by he Cominform.

In Eastern Germany there has been a significant increase in Titoist sympathies. Yugoslav literature is being widely disseminated; he anti-Yugoslav propaganda in he Stalinist press has been stepped up and sharpened in tone. Several leading Stalinist figures in the Western zone have suddenly disappeared.

From Poland comes the news of the extension of the purge to former Socialists and liberals. Premier Cyrankiewicz, himself rumored to be scheduled for the scrap heap, joined President Beirut's attack on his former colleagues, singling out Stanislaw Kowalewski, former Vice-Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform. Kowalewski is the seventh prominent government official dismissed from office.

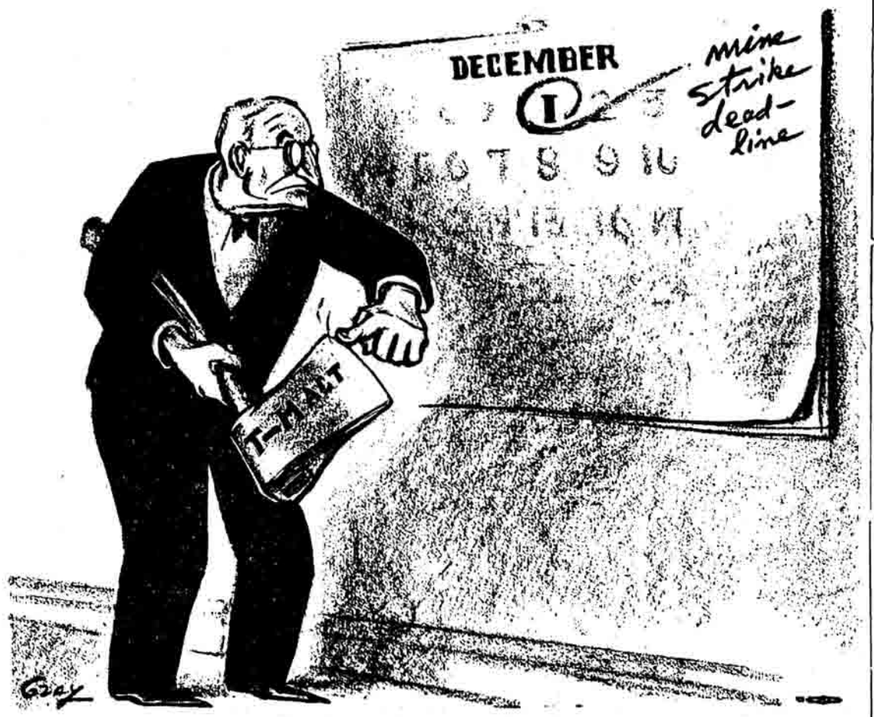
The appointment of Marshal Rokossovsky as Poland's war chief and virtual military dictator is only the crowning move in the Russification of top echelons in the Polish armed forces. The head of the general staff and one of his deputies are Russians; so is the head of the airforce and the second-ranking navy commander; and so are the army inspectors. Three-fourths of the corps and divisional commanders are likewise said to be Russian.

The purge in Bulgaria has apparently reached the stage of treason trials. The Czech Rude Pravo has made public a statement by Chervenkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian CP, to the effect that Kostov, former Vice Premier and top Bulgarian Stalinist would soon be tried as a "treacherous Titoist." (Daily Worker, Nov. 17.)

In Czechoslovakia the purge keeps mounting in intensity. Two members of Parliament, one a CP member, have been expelled for "graft and corruption." Another 55 men and women have been sentenced to prison on spy and diversionist charges, the sentences ranging from one year to life.

Premier Enver Hoxha of Albania is reported to have departed hurriedly for Moscow to plead for immediate assistance because his own position is becoming untenable. According to Belgrade, Russian military personnel has been doubled in Albania in the recent period and already numbers about 15,000, among them experts and trainers in guerrilla warfare.

THE MINEOWNERS' BEST FRIEND



Truman Tries to Coerce Miners With T-H Threat

Truman has confirmed his intention to use the strikebreaking Taft-Hartley Act against the coal miners if he decides to crack down on any renewal of their strike. The deadline for the end of the current three-week truce is Dec. 1. At his press conference on Nov. 17, Truman replied, "That is right," to the question whether he had not said previously that he would "not hesitate" to use the infamous Slave Labor Law "if it becomes necessary."

To emphasize his intention of relying on the Taft-Hartley Act in intervening against any future strike, Truman ruled out the use of the type of "fact-finding" procedure he employed to stall the steel strike. Asked, "Will you take any action short of the Taft-Hartley Act, as you did in the steel strike?", Truman answered with a flat, "No."

REFUSED TO SAY

Truman refused to say whether he considers a United Mine Workers walkout on Dec. 1 a "national emergency" subject to the harsh measures of the anti-labor law.

But he scotched the notion being circulated in liberal and labor circles that he is opposed in principle to employing the Taft-Hartley Act or that he will not dare to use it because of his political commitments to the union leaders.

If it comes to a choice between protecting the mine owners and upholding his political commitments, Truman will unhesitatingly back the capitalists whose fundamental interests he serves. He showed that last year when he invoked the Taft-Hartley Act against the miners. As a matter of fact, his hand-picked NLRB has clubbed organized labor with 58 T-H injunctions within two years.

OPERATORS' CONFIDENCE

It is their confidence that Truman will back them up with the Taft-Hartley Act in a showdown with the UMW that has inspired the coal operators to continue their delaying tactics in renewing negotiations.

The major steel corporations, which own the "captive" mines that produce a large share of the country's coal, are playing the game of sitting back and letting the commercial operators set the "pattern." These steel magnates squealed like stuck pigs when Truman intervened with his "fact-finding" in the steel situation; but they are welcoming and inviting government intervention in the coal conflict.

The mere threat of the Taft-Hartley Act, Truman calculates, may suffice to coerce the miners into accepting the operators' terms, which include abrogation of some of the most important protective clauses in the old UMW contract, affecting both the pension and welfare fund and the miners' right to strike.

WHY TRUMAN IS COCKY

Truman feels free to use this form of coercion and to demonstrate his hostility to the coal miners so openly because the CIO and AFL leaders are making no protest, at least none that is loud enough to be heard.

The miners have unshakable solidarity and an immense fighting capacity. If they are forced to renew their strike, they will give a good account of themselves. But their powers and resources are not inexhaustible. They are up against a formidable array of the whole capitalist class and the government combined. The labor movement can assure a victory for the miners if it gives them solid and unstinted moral and material support now.

Illegal Ouster of Port Agent, Patrolmen Arouses Members

By R. Bell

The consolidation of bureaucratic power which marked the recent national CIO convention had its repercussion last week in a so-called "right-wing" union when National Maritime Union President Joseph Curran led his henchmen in a savage blitzkrieg against the elementary rights of the membership.

The redbaiting orgy unleashed by Philip Murray at the CIO convention accelerated the power-grab of the Curran machine in the NMU. Under cover of a heavy redbaiting barrage the Curran faction struck at the center of opposition in the Port of New York, which had broken with the leadership over the issue of internal union democracy.

Opposition officials, elected on the Curran slate in the last election, were arbitrarily removed from office by Vice-President Warner, appointed "administrator" by the Curran faction. The action was challenged by the officials involved as illegal and unconstitutional. When the membership in the Port of New York rallied around their elected officials to defend their rights, they were branded as a "Red Mob" which had laid "siege" to the union hiring hall in order to take over for Moscow.

The boss-controlled press and radio, the New York police force, capitalist politicians, lawyers and shipowners ganged up to do a job on the alleged "mutineers." Curranite officials issued inflammatory statements. Newspaper columnists and radio announcers shrieked of a "red plot" to capture the union. And all this sound and fury was deliberately contrived to screen the real conspiracy afoot to crush the opposition, destroy the democratic rights of the membership, purge all dissenters and saddle the NMU with an iron bureaucratic regime.

A brief background of the conflict in the NMU will throw some light on current developments. Last spring a group of officials in the Port of New York came out in opposition to a Curran-sponsored proposal to amend the constitution by:

(1) Requiring all members to sign a yellow-dog affidavit swearing they were not members or supporters of any "subversive" organization, and

(2) Expelling all members who belonged to, aided, abetted, encouraged, supported or believed in, any policies and program of any so-called subversive organization.

DICTATORSHIP BLUEPRINT

The yellow-dog amendments were correctly branded by the opposition as a blueprint for dictatorship. In a thirty-day vote the amendments were voted down but the referendum was declared invalid because of "irregularities." It was at this point that the Curran faction embarked on a deliberate course to crush the opposition as a step along the road toward rigid machine control of the union.

The next stage of the struggle took place at the NMU convention in September. The Curran machine, by hook and crook, succeeded in jamming through the "loyalty" oath and purge measures. All convention proposals to amend the constitution must be submitted to membership

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Democrat Lashes Purge At Kutcher Rally in Youngstown

By Harry Braverman

YOUNGSTOWN, Nov. 18 — A banquet of almost 100 people addressd by Youngstown labor, civic and religious leaders came as a successful finale to James Kutcher's stay in this city.

The banquet in honor and defense of the legless veteran and Socialist Workers Party member represented a genuine non-partisan civil rights assemblage, the first to be gathered in Youngstown in many years. As such, it has an importance for the labor and liberal movement here far beyond even the Kutcher case.

During his stay here, Kutcher spoke to the Mahoning County CIO Council and to other labor bodies every evening of his four days. He addressed a press conference attended by the press of Youngstown and the surrounding steel area, with the exception of the steel-collared **Youngstown Vindicator**, which boycotted his case.

Kutcher had three radio interviews on three different stations in one day, which, he said, sets a radio record in his tour thus far. All the small weekly and daily papers of the region carried full writeups of Kutcher's fight, with photographs of the legless veteran.

The banquet featured as speakers, in addition to Kutcher, Innocenzo Vagnozzi, former city councilman and water commissioner and a prominent Democrat; Tony Traficant, president of Local 1617 of the United Steelworkers; and Rev. A. J. Wood of the Jerusalem Baptist Church. Sam Camens, president of Steelworkers Local 1330, presided, and the Rev. Charles Jack of the Boardman Methodist Church opened with an invocation. Merlin Luce, secretary of the Kutcher Committee and combat veteran of Italy where Kutcher lost his legs also spoke.

Socialist Workers Party members present at the banquet considered that its high point was reached in the speech of I. Vagnozzi. They had reason to disagree with much of what Vagnozzi said. But when Vagnozzi pounded away at the administration "loyalty" program, and said, **"I am compelled to attack the party with which I am affiliated,"** all those present felt that a genuine civil rights attitude was at last being developed in Youngstown. Vagnozzi, while a leading Democrat, was one of the prominent figures in the Sacco-Vanzetti defense movement here a quarter-century ago. He was also one of the first public figures to rally to the CIO in the early organization days.

DEADLY PARALLEL

The banquet was supported by the local CIO movement here. Locals of the Steelworkers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Communications Workers bought blocks of tickets and sent members to the banquet. The labor speakers at the banquet drew the deadly parallel between the persecution of Kutcher for his convictions and the attacks of reaction against the labor movement.

James Kutcher, by his speeches, his activity and his conduct here left a very favorable impression. His modesty combined with his forthright presentation of the facts in his case drew many comments.

ECONOMIC SITUATION REMAINS PRECARIOUS

By John G. Wright

It's been a long while since the columns of the financial and business periodicals have been able to report such a volume of encouraging developments in economic life as they have since midsummer of this year.

There has been an undeniable pick-up in light industry, especially in textiles, paper, radio and electrical industries. Inventory liquidation which up to July of this year threatened to assume run-away proportions, has been halted, and, indeed, a trend to rebuilding inventories to new heights appeared to be in the offing.

In the durable goods field, the prize performer has been auto where production has set a new all-time high. Since mid-year the internal market has absorbed some two million new cars and it is confidently predicted that next year will see the 1949 performance duplicated.

AUTO AND STEEL

As a matter of fact, such an eminent authority as the Federal Reserve Board has estimated the auto market at not less than 20 million new cars. This estimate is based on the large percentage of old models now on the road and on the assumption that a large percentage of jalopy owners represent potential buyers. This dubious assumption still remains to be tested.

The outlook for steel is likewise predicted to be rosy not only to make up for the recent strike but also to meet the backlog for heavy construction. The demand for steel for office buildings, roads and bridges is said to be ample to "support uninterrupted steel production."

NEW INFLATION SPURS

Over and above this, huge deficit spending by the government has introduced new inflationary trends into the situation. So conservative an authority as Mr. Burgess of the National City Bank, while conceding that some deflationary trends were still manifest, has just announced that they were beginning to be outweighed by deficit spending plus the projected GI insurance rebates to the tune of some 2½ billion dollars.

All this has imbued enough confidence in the stockmarket to

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The Issue That CIO Leaders Fear to Face

By Art Preis

The recent CIO convention was obsessed with the issue of "communism" and the purge of the Stalinists almost to the point of phobia. But this was not mere hysteria on the part of the CIO leaders. There was method in their madness. The anti-"communist" frenzy was calculated to disguise a more deep-seated fear—their fright at the thought of any honest discussion of the workers' real problems.

Above all, Philip Murray and his lieutenants wanted to avoid any critical appraisal of the results of their own policies. By using the Stalinists as a convenient scapegoat, the Murray machine sought to divert attention from what had happened since the post-election "Victory Convention" of the CIO in Nov. 1948.

At that convention, they had hailed the election of Truman and a Democratic majority in Congress as a guarantee of new advances by labor and a crushing setback for Big Business reaction. It was expected of course that labor would share in the fruits of "victory" through new social legislation, repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and the backing of the administration in gaining some substantial economic concessions from the employers. The union leaders, particularly of the CIO, had played a decisive role in the Democratic triumph. They had swung the weight of their organization behind Truman's foreign and domestic policies. Surely they would get something—nothing as much as was promised—but something out of the deal.

A YEAR LATER

A year after the 1948 "Victory Convention," the CIO leaders had no substantial gains for the CIO workers; in fact, they were worse off. By the test of what happened to Truman's election promises, all labor, including the CIO, suffered a terrible defeat in the 81st Congress. The Taft-Hartley Act remained in full force, with repeal action abandoned until 1951. Civil rights legislation was scuttled and the power of the Southern filibuster in the Senate was strengthened. The CIO leaders could show not a single legislative gain that their "victory" had accomplished other than a gutted rent control law and a a minimum wage law so twisted and doctored that its avowed purpose is almost nullified.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The economic position of the workers is measurably worsened. Millions are out of jobs and even more millions working only part-time at reduced take-home pay. Prices are rising again after dipping only 3% under their all-time peak. In six months of Truman's administration of the new rent decontroll bill, more than two million tenants have been deprived of all protection and hundreds of thousands of others soaked with rent increases. The fourth-round wage campaign is completely shattered by the intervention of Truman and his steel "fact-finding" board. In fact, a wage freeze is in force by contractual agreement in such major industries as steel and auto.

The corporations, for their part, had never been so arrogant and recalcitrant, considering the size and strategic position of the unions. With the aid of the courts and police forces, the corporations dealt cruel blows to the workers in such strikes as Bell Aircraft in Buffalo and Singer Sewing Machine in Elizabeth, N. J. The steel barons forced the steel workers into a prolonged, costly strike over the issue of a meager, inadequate pension. And the coal miners are still standing with their backs to the wall in a protracted struggle against the gang-up of the government and operators.

While the economic squeeze is tightening on the workers, the corporations are enjoying unexampled prosperity. This is reflected in dividend payments. For the first nine months of 1949, average dividends for all major industries are 8.2% higher than the all-time high of the corresponding period in 1948. The steel industry—in the very midst of the strike—distributed dividends that brought the last nine-month total to 18.7% above the same period in golden 1948. General Motors on Nov. 7 declared the biggest single dividend in the world history of industry, $190,232,055, bringing the total dividend this year to $8 per share of common stock with a value of $10—that is, a return of 80% in nine months on GM's invested capital.

The only thing the CIO got from the Truman "victory" was a

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Should Negroes Stick to CIO

By Albert Parker

Winning the support of the Negro workers is one of the main concentration points of the Stalinists in their campaign to keep control of the UE (and of the other Stalinist-led unions facing expulsion from the CIO). In this campaign the Stalinists have the advantage of being able to point to the Murray bureaucracy's miserable record on Negro rights, which they are exploiting for all that it's worth, and in many places successfully.

But at the same time the Stalinists themselves are resorting to all kinds of falsifications about their own record in the fight against Jim Crow; they do not hesitate in locals where it serves their political purposes to deliberately foment hostility between Negro and white unionists where amiable relations existed in the past; they seek to manipulate for their own benefit the just and legitimate grievances of the Negro workers; and they have already proved their readiness to sacrifice the Negroes' prospects for progress within the labor movement by trying to isolate them from the mainstream of the industrial union movement in which the Negro workers have made their greatest gains to date.

ARE STALINISTS BETTER?

Negro workers know for themselves that the record of Murray, Reuther, Carey, etc., is weak-kneed, vacillating and unsatisfactory on such crucial issues as up-grading of Negro workers, abolishing barriers to more skilled and better-paying jobs, Negro representation on top committees, wiping out all discriminatory practices inside the unions, and so on. But is the Stalinist record any better?

The answer is no, and the proof so far as the UE is concerned will be found in the excellent article by Irvin Marnin, "The UE Faces the Split," in the November issue of Fourth International. **The facts show that despite their control of the UE since its formation, the Stalinist list of crimes and misdemeanors against Negro members is just as long and just as reactionary as those that can be attributed to the Murray bureaucracy.**

Why isn't this fact better known? One reason can be found in the long article by Abner Berry in the Nov. 20 issue of The Worker, "Negroes Test CIO Today," which undertakes to convince Negroes that they should go along with the Stalinist break from the CIO.

"The word 'Negro' appears a few times in the official proceedings of the CIO's 11th Constitutional Convention," is the way Berry's article begins. This, of course, is a mistake the Stalinists never make. In their conventions the word Negro appears thousands of times; they make scores of flamboyant speeches about the evils of Jim Crow; they give all kinds of promises about what they will do to help the Negro if only they are re-elected to office.

ALL TALK

But it's all talk. The speeches are never reflected in their action, the promises are never kept. Conditions of the Negro workers in the Stalinist-controlled unions are no better **in any respect** than those in the Murray-controlled unions. The chief characteristic of their policy is demagogy, as can be easily demonstrated by the demands that the Stalinists are now emphasizing. One of them, as listed by Berry, is:

"Recognition of Negro leadership in the trade unions by securing representation on the policy-making bodies of national unions. This is especially true of the executive boards of the steel and auto workers and of the CIO, itself."

But why are only the unions led by Murray and Reuther mentioned by name? What about the UE, which was the third-largest CIO union and is led by the Stalinists? The truth is, as Marnin points out, "There is not a single Negro on the [UE] General Executive Board, very few in the district leaderships, and a not much better proportion in the large locals." In other words, the Stalinists are guilty of perpetuating the very same practices they denounce the Murrayites for!

SIMILAR POLICIES

The same point can be made on almost all of the Stalinist arguments. Berry accuses Murray of having a few Negro stooges to cover up his betrayals; the Stalinists have such stooges themselves and make the same use of them. Berry accuses Murray of having ties with unsavory capitalist politicians in the South; the Stalinists too supported these Jim Crow elements during the war, and would still be doing so today if only Washington were willing to make a deal with Moscow. Berry accuses Murray of whitewashing Truman's record on civil rights; the Stalinists did and still do the same on Roosevelt's record, which was no better.

For the benefit of those who know these facts, Berry adds: "Not all of the progressive unions have adhered fully to the fight for the rights of Negro workers." But his alibi for this — that the programs of the so-called progressive unions at least "are subject to democratic change by their memberships" — is limping and lame. After all, Murray and Reuther can offer the same alibi, and with as much justice, because the Stalinist-led unions are no less dictatorial than those of the CIO.

WHAT TO DO

Having satisfied themselves that there is no real difference between the Stalinist bureaucrats and the Murray bureaucrats on the Negro question, some Negro workers may conclude: "Well, if there is no important difference, then we may as well be neutral in the fight that is going on between them for control of the UE and other unions."

But that would be a mistake. Militant Negro workers have a genuine stake in remaining with the CIO. Not because the program of Murray and Carey is better than the Stalinist program; not because a policy intended to aid the interests of the U. S. State Department is superior to a program intended to aid the interests of the Kremlin. But because the CIO will remain the most progressive section of the labor movement, despite all the faults of its leaders, while the independent UE and any third labor federation that the Stalinists succeed in cooking up are fated to end in bankruptcy.

Murray's false policies weaken the CIO (and did even in the days when the Stalinists were praising him to the heavens), but they are not the most important thing about the CIO. Far more decisive is the fact that the CIO, as an **industrial union movement resting** on the basic mass production industries, is by its very nature compelled to organize and seek the support of all workers, including Negro workers. That is what made Negro progress through the CIO possible in the past; and because the departure of the Stalinist-led unions does not change this fundamental fact, that is what will make Negro progress possible through the CIO in the future.

THE BEST ARENA

Negro militants belong in the CIO. Sticking with the CIO does not mean endorsement of Murray's policies; it means sticking with the section of the labor movement that offers the best arena for satisfying the Negro workers' grievances; it means sticking with the other militant workers and cooperating with them in putting over a new and better and more democratic program in the CIO.

Sticking with the CIO will not automatically solve all the problems of the Negro workers, but it will present the most favorable conditions for their solution, while going with the Stalinists away from the CIO will result only in isolation from the masses of militant workers and Negroes in the auto, steel and other CIO unions who still represent the main hope and the best ally of the Negro people in their fight for full equality.

Huge Fine for Miners

Welly K. Hopkins, general counsel for the United Mine Workers, hands District Court Clerk Harry M. Hull a check for $1,420,000 in payment of Taft-Hartley fines levied against union and UMW President John L. Lewis because they refused to call off their 1948 strike on the order of a federal court. No corporation ever gets fined that much for real crimes against the people.

THE ISSUE THAT CIO'S LEADERS FEAR TO FACE

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recommendation from Truman's steel "fact-finding" board for a picayune pension and insurance plan based on company contributions of "not more than" six cents an hour for pensions and four cents for insurance. AND THE STEEL UNION HAD TO ENGAGE IN A LONG STRIKE TO GET EVEN THIS. Truman didn't get tough with the steel barons like he's now getting tough with the miners.

The Steel Board's report supported the corporations on every point other than pensions and insurance It called for a wage freeze and enunciated the doctrine that wage increases should not be based on the increased profits of industry. It backed the virulent campaign of Big Business to strengthen the Taft-Hartley Act by proposing to prohibit industry-wide bargaining and break up the unions into isolated, ineffectual local bargaining units.

CAPITALIST POLICY

The steel industry, acting as the spearhead for the whole of entrenched American monopoly capital, did not force the steel workers to strike for the proposed pension and welfare plans out of mere concern for the cost of this small crumb. The owners of the steel industry were following a conscious political line designed to create an atmosphere of dissatisfaction in the unions and to discredit them. They wanted the steel workers to ask why they had to suffer a six weeks' strike and loss of pay over a mere "fringe" issue that would not bring them a penny more immediate gain—and in fact has cost them a 2½-cent wage deduction to pay for the contributory insurance plan which Murray accepted.

Above all, the capitalists want to create a general anti-union atmosphere in which they can press for retention and expansion of the anti-labor laws and secure more brutal governmental measures against the unions. They want to arouse public sentiment against alleged union "monopolies" to conceal their own monopoly stranglehold on the economic and political life of the country.

Against the conscious political drive of the corporations, the only effective answer for labor is a counter-attack which strikes at the very root of the social ills, that is, at monopoly capitalist control. But the union leaders are committed to advancing the political objectives of a corrupt capitalist political machine which is an instrument of Big Business rule. They give everything to this machine and get in return only hollow promises. It is all give and no take.

STIFLE MEMBERS

This is the source of the Murray machine's desperate and ruthless drive to bureaucratize the CIO, which reached its climax in the witch-hunt atmosphere at the Cleveland convention. The CIO leaders, backed into a blind alley politically, unable to deliver the goods and fight effectively for the interests of the CIO workers, react with the instinct of bureaucratic self-protection—they try to stifle the membership, put a lid on them.

But that will solve nothing. The workers are beset by anxiety and insecurity, by unemployment and declining income. The corporations are imposing intolerable speedup, restoring the old pre-union conditions in the plants while the workers have no effective machinery for the settlement of grievances which are piling mountain high.

They are going to feel the need more and more to break out of the straitjacket of dependency on the capitalist politicians and Truman. They will not be fooled forever, or even very much longer, into the kind of political trap which the union leaders have repeatedly sprung on them. They will demand the kind of politics—independent labor political action through their own party and program—which will free them for action on every front against Big Business monopoly and all its political agents, Democratic and Republican.

SWP Celebrates Militant Birthday In Twin Cities

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 19 — A tape recording of James P. Cannon's speech, "The Two Americas," was run off here tonight as a special feature of the 21st Militant Anniversary Celebration held in the state SWP headquarters by the Twin Cities branches of the party.

This talk by the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party originally was delivered as the keynote address at the 1948 convention of the party in New York, and broadcast over a national hookup by the American Broadcasting Company. Tonight's playing of the tape recording was clear and distinct, and members of the audience commented that it sounded like a radio broadcast.

Chairman of the meeting was Winifred Nelson, who gave a brief history of **The Militant**, and reported that both St. Paul and Minneapolis have gone over their quota in the subscription campaign. **"We commemorate the anniversary of The Militant," she said, "not just by holding this celebration but by doing our best in a campaign to introduce workers to our paper."**

Tonight's affair added $23.51 to the St. Paul and Minneapolis Party Building Fund.

Randolph Walks Tightrope in Talk on Negroes and USSR

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 12 — A. Philip Randolph, president of the important Sleeping Car Porters Union and a leading figure in the Negro world, walked the tightrope here last Sunday in a speech on the subject, "Should Negroes Fight for the U.S.A. in a War with Soviet Russia?"

Randolph appeared to have a pretty tough time trying to convince his audience that democracy, American brand, is worth fighting for.

It was not that the approximately 500 people who listened were pro-Communist or antagonistic to him. But he had difficulty in arousing their enthusiasm.

Randolph identified Communism with Stalinism, totalitarianism and dictatorship; democracy with concern for the rights of the individual.

IN A DILEMMA

But a Negro audience, each member of which suffers daily from a lack of democratic rights, is not easily convinced that capitalist "democracy" offers for them a solution to their problems.

Randolph's line was that the reforms initiated by the Civil War were stopped in mid-air, and that the job now is to see to it that those reforms are carried through so that discrimination and segregation are thrown into the discard.

But since he rejected the socialist solution in favor of capitalism, he could offer very little in the way of a program which could reasonably be expected to achieve the aims he proposed. That was his dilemma, and he sweated through it as best he could.

WARNS AGAINST HYSTERIA

He denounced Paul Robeson for declaring that Negroes would not support the United States in a war against the Soviet Union. He denounced Stalinism for splitting the labor movement, doing the bidding of the Kremlin and resorting to purges to stifle freedom.

But he also saw fit to warn against the hysteria of the witch-hunt and the red scare and felt forced to lash out against "monopoly capitalism."

Boiled down, Randolph's proposals appear to be that Negroes should now enter into a nation-wide discussion of whether they should fight in a war against the Soviet Union; that they should line up against Communism but avoid hysteria; and that, through struggle, they should seek to wrest from monopoly capitalism the rights now so patently denied the Negro people.

It was evident from Randolph's talk today that far more dynamic and forthright leadership than he offered will be needed before the Negro people can actually win first-class citizenship.

Friends of SWP Donate Liberally to Campaign

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

The campaign of the Socialist Workers Party to raise a $12,000 Party Building Fund has now passed the half-way mark. A total of $5,604 has been paid through Nov. 22 by the branches and friends of the party. This is 47% of the national quota. We slipped a little during the week and are now 15% behind schedule.

Our hats are still off to **Flint Branch.** These comrades have completed 90% of their quota. And it looks as though they will continue to hold first place right through the campaign. **Comrade Genora** says, "We feel good that we've got the bulk of our pledge in. If we can do it we're completely confident that all the rest of our branches will hit their quotas on time."

New Haven ousted **New Britain** out of second place by coming through with 80% of its quota.

The challenge for third place on the scoreboard was picked up by the **Morgantown** comrades. This branch assured itself of third place by fulfilling 68% of its quota.

Comrade Dennis of **Boston Branch** wrote: "We have been beset by the usual amount of unemployment that is prevalent these days, but our hopes of attaining our goal have not diminished in the least." In spite of the unemployment obstacle, Boston has paid 65% of its quota and holds fourth place.

A payment of $45 just arrived from **St. Paul** to place **St. Paul-Minneapolis** fifth on the scoreboard. **Comrade Jean** reports that "All of the comrades are right on schedule with their payments. So we're sure of pulling through."

These are the branches that are on schedule in the campaign.

Eight of the other branches are not too far behind — **New York, Buffalo, San Francisco-Oakland, Toledo, Pittsburgh, Newark, Allentown, Seattle.** These branches are in the 50%-60% category. With a little extra push they can easily put themselves on schedule by next week, which means they will have to reach 69%.

Anne Chester sent in $37 for **San Francisco,** explaining that "$25 represents the proceeds of our combined celebration of the October Revolution and the anniversary of **The Militant.**"

Chicago Branch is getting the wind in its sails. During the week these comrades sent in $105 which pushed them from 11% to 38%.

Milwaukee vacated the zero column and moved up with the 20-30 percenters. This branch will probably make another big jump in the next week. **Comrade Williams** promises that "more money will follow shortly."

Comrade Doris of **Akron** sent in $15, assuring us that they should have no difficulty meeting their pledge of $100.

A $100 payment from **Los Angeles** reached us just in time to make this scoreboard. **Comrade Myra Tanner** says, "Sometime next week I'll be able to send in enough to put us over the half-way mark."

Last, but certainly not least, is the remarkable jump from 4% to 37% in the "General" contributions from friends of the party.

H. of **Detroit** made a pledge of $100 to the Party Building Fund and sent in her first payment of $25.

Two sympathizers sent in $100 **each.**

Our appreciation can best be expressed for these welcome contributions by pointing out to our friends that completion of the Party Building Fund IN FULL AND ON TIME assures the carrying out of our program to expand our activities, to build and strengthen the party, and to increase the circulation of its press and publications.

SCOREBOARD FOR SWP FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Flint	$ 200	$ 180	90
New Haven	25	20	80
New Britain	30	21	70
Morgantown	25	17	68
Boston	200	130	65
St. Paul-Minneapolis	900	572	64
New York	3,000	1,784	59
Buffalo	500	292	58
San Francisco-Oakland	800	465	58
Toledo	75	43	57
Pittsburgh	150	80	53
Newark	350	179	51
Allentown	50	25	50
Seattle	200	100	50
Worcester	40	19	48
Cleveland	250	102	41
Chicago	400	151	38
Philadelphia	600	230	38
St. Louis	75	27	36
Detroit	1,100	382	35
Akron	100	25	25
Los Angeles	1,500	375	24
Milwaukee	250	57	23
Youngstown	400	56	14
Lynn	75	10	13
General	705	262	37
TOTAL through Nov. 22	$12,000	$5,604	47

THE MILITANT ARMY

The honor of being the first branch of the Socialist Workers Party to double its quota in the November subscription campaign for **The Militant** goes to **New Haven.** They broke their thermometer by passing the boiling point and hitting 213% of their goal. Our congratulations to the New Haven comrades.

Pressing closely behind New Haven, the **Seattle** pace-setters hit 187%. It looks like a double bull's eye for this branch before the campaign ends. Literature Agent **Marianne Stanley** writes us that "the special three-months introductory subscription for 50c. is a bit easier to sell than the regular $1 sub for six months but some people can't even afford 50c." Like the sub-getters elsewhere, the Seattle comrades have run into a lot of unemployment among workers.

It's hard for a jobless worker to dig up that half-a-buck, but who needs the revolutionary socialist message carried in **The Militant** more than the unemployed?

St. Paul this week smashed its way from 77% to 183% of its quota and thus took the lead away from Minneapolis in the hotly-contested Twin Cities race. That was some week, a jump of 106%!

The **Minneapolis** score has shot up spectacularly in the past two weeks too. It wasn't that the sub-getting suddenly got easier. The U. S. Mail apparently speeded up deliveries so that this week all the Minneapolis subs got in by the Tuesday deadline to ring up a most impressive 176%.

Boston moved up from 120% last week to 147% of their goal. "The past holiday week end slowed things up a bit," writes Literature Agent **Rena Breshi.** "We will be in full swing again next week end."

Every race seems to have its dark horse contenders. **Chicago** only two weeks ago was in the zero column. Last week they hit 18%. This week they completed their goal of 60 points and went 12% over. "And still ten days to go," writes Literature Agent **Howard Anderson.** That's a real challenge to some of the other branches who got off to a slow start in the campaign!

Pittsburgh too went over the top this week to tie Chicago with 112%. One of Pittsburgh's top sub-getters is Comrade **Dallas** who just joined the Socialist Workers Party. He started the right way by going out and getting four new subscriptions for America's leading socialist weekly, **The Militant.**

Milwaukee's Task Force of sub-getters is rolling along ahead of schedule with a comfortable 84%. "We are not breaking any records yet as far as sub-getting is concerned," writes **Fred Martin,** "but the mailing of sample **Militants** and a leaflet is proving very helpful."

The **Flint** branch is on schedule with 80% despite obstacles and handicaps. "**Sol** is high with 12 subs," Literature Agent **D. Seymour** reports. "Most of it is renewal work so it means just plugging away at the lists."

Morgantown is finding sub-getting "slow," according to the comrades there. "However, we expect to make our quota." Articles in **The Militant** on problems of the Negro people are especially appreciated in this area "where the contradictions are so pointed."

A seaman subscriber to **The Militant** sent in four subscriptions from his ship. "As an active supporter of your sub campaign, I'm trying to do my bit. I'm in town every three weeks and I'll be plugging away, while out to sea, to make sure that the subscription list of seamen on my ship keeps growing. For America's best labor paper!"

And **J. C.** of **Los Angeles** sent a contribution of $1 "to keep up the work you are doing and I hope I shall in the future be able to send more." Thanks a lot, J. C.

Branch	Goal	Points	%
New Haven	15	32	213
Seattle	15	28	187
St. Paul	35	64	183
Minneapolis	75	132	176
Cleveland	15	26	173
Boston	15	22	147
Chicago	60	67	112
Pittsburgh	25	28	112
Milwaukee	25	21	84
Allentown	10	8	80
Flint	50	40	80
Toledo	25	19	76
Worcester	20	12	60
Philadelphia	75	30	40
San Francisco	35	11	31
St. Louis	10	3	30
Detroit	50	14	28
Newark	50	13	26
Los Angeles	250	38	15
Morgantown	10	1	10
Youngstown	20	2	10
Buffalo	100	3	3
Akron	25	0	0
New Britain	10	0	0
Oakland	30	0	0
General		16	
Total	1,050	630	60

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THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330)
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 3c each in U.S., 4c each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XIII - No. 48 Monday, November 28, 1949

TROTSKY

"Consciousness, premeditation, and planning played a far smaller part in bourgeois revolutions than they are destined to play, and already do play in proletarian revolutions. . . The leadership remained in the hands of different sections of the bourgeoisie, and the latter had at its disposal wealth, education, and all the organizational advantages connected with them (the cities, the universities, the press, etc.) . . . The bourgeoisie would bide its time to seize a favorable moment when it could profit from the movement of the lower classes and throw its whole social weight into the scale, and so seize the state power. The proletarian revolution is distinguished by the fact that the proletariat — in the person of its vanguard — acts in it not only as the main offensive force but also as the guiding force."

—Leon Trotsky, Lessons of October, 1924.

LENIN

Why They Hate John L. Lewis

John L. Lewis has been under more continuous, vituperative and concerted attack than any labor leader in American history. All the agencies of monied rule, every section of the capitalist press from ultra-reactionary to liberal, the whole apparatus and personnel of government have leaped like a wolf pack on this one man. In their abuse of Lewis, the Truman Democrats, the Dixiecrats and the Republicans find common ground.

Why is this? They cannot call him a "Communist" — indeed, Lewis himself long ago purged the UMW of every radical opposition and by the most ruthless means. In his economic thinking, he is ardently pro-capitalist. In politics, he shifts between the Democrats and Republicans. He runs the UMW with methods no different than any other old-line labor bureaucrat.

But Lewis differs from all the other top union leaders in one decisive respect — aggressiveness. He's a fighter. He utilizes the organized strength of the miners. He does not hesitate to use militant action to win results. Even those papers which split the most venom on Lewis admit, that the struggles he led won top wages for the miners. His fighting methods also won a 36½-hour week and the best pension and welfare plans.

The effectiveness of Lewis' militant methods, demonstrated in the gains the UMW has won, stand out in sharp and favorable contrast to the timidity and compromise of the other union leaders. It is an inspiration to all the ranks of labor, an example for them to follow. And that is why the "Hate Lewis" mob is out to get him.

This "Hate Lewis" mob encompasses unfortunately, even top union leaders. If they do not attack him openly, they lose no opportunity to strike at Lewis from ambush. It is no accident that they keep silence when the miners are engaged in a desperate struggle against the combined host of their enemies and Truman threatens them with the T-H Act.

These other union leaders think they would have a softer time of it, if it weren't for Lewis. He keeps raising the ante on them — higher wages, shorter hours, company-financed pensions, health and welfare plans. Every time they think they can sit back and relax, Lewis wins something new. His effective militant methods discredit them and their policy of reliance on the capitalist government.

We must tell the plain truth — these spineless union leaders want Lewis defeated. They think this will give more prestige to themselves and more weight to their own weak and bankrupt policies. They deceive themselves. If the miners lose in this present fight, it will be a sad day for all labor. It will embolden the corporations as nothing else has; they will take it as a signal for a more furious general assault on the whole labor movement.

Every union man and woman must understand this fact: the miners are but the most advanced bastion of labor's defense. Let this outpost be taken by labor's enemies, and the whole front of the labor movement will stand exposed. That is why all support and reinforcements must be rushed to the miners at once. Every union local, regardless of affiliation, must give its moral and material backing to the miners now. A mighty movement must rise up and speak with one voice to Washington: "Hands Off the Coal Miners!"

Latin American "Democracy" at Work

In the last few years, naked dictatorships have been imposed on a whole number of Latin American countries. Invariably and with indecent haste the State Department has recognized each of these new governments.

We have now two more instances of "democracy" at work in the Western Hemisphere and of how the State Department stands guard over it. One is Panama; the other, Colombia.

The President of Panama demanded the resignation of three top officials of the Panamanian police force, the only armed force in this little country. Instead of resigning they deposed him. The State Department promptly recognized as "constitutional" this literal dictatorship by policemen.

What is going on in Colombia differs in form but is identical in substance. This country has been deemed as a prize example of democracy. It was chosen as the seat for the Pan-American Conference which was so rudely disrupted by the Bogota uprising of April 1948.

After that uprising, the Liberals rushed to save the regime by entering a coalition government. They are now getting repaid for their past services. Knowing themselves to be a tiny minority, the reactionaries have unleashed a reign of terror on the eve of the presidential elections. The incumbent president took the occasion of the murder of a Liberal Deputy (by the Conservative Deputies) to dissolve the Congress with its Liberal majority. Constitutional guarantees have been suspended, the press placed under strict censorship and martial law proclaimed.

Declaring "free elections" to be impossible, Dario Echandia, the Liberal candidate, has withdrawn and the Liberals are calling on the people to boycott the elections. Meanwhile, of course, the Nov. 27 "elections" will take place and Laureano Gomez, the unopposed Conservative candidate, who fled to Franco Spain after the Bogota uprising, will be duly declared elected.

There has not been so much as a whisper from the State Department about the Colombian outrages. For that matter, the major newspapers have played down the point that Gomez and his henchmen are avowed Falangists, that is, followers of Dictator Franco.

Why should they? Aren't they busy clearing the decks for accepting Franco himself into the North Atlantic Pact and the "family of democratic nations?"

Chicago's Sequel to Peekskill

The recent fascist-like Peekskill riots were not isolated incidents. Their pattern is discernible in a growing series of similar outrages in other parts of the country. The latest occurred in Chicago two weeks ago when a mob, inspired by property owners and inflamed with anti-Jewish and anti-Negro propaganda, attacked the home of a CIO organizer and assaulted scores of persons on the streets.

At Peekskill, the racist prejudice appeared in the guise of an attack on "communism." In Chicago, the mob violence was openly and directly inspired by anti-Semitism and racism. Property owners, seeking to enforce "racial covenants" in a white neighborhood, circulated the rumor that Negroes were moving into the home where a CIO organizer, who happened to be Jewish, had held a meeting which was attended by some Negroes. The mob terrorized the area for a week and laid nightly siege to the organizer's home.

And in Chicago, as at Peekskill, the police acted in complicity with the terrorists. This fact was so obvious that even the **Chicago Daily News** felt impelled to editorially attack "the continuing manifestations of police incompetence in handling riotous mobs." It charged that "the fact seems to be that in this case the sympathies of the police were very largely with the mob."

One policeman told a **Daily News** reporter that several persons assaulted by the mob "were properly beaten because they were Communists." "How do you know they were Communists?" the reporter asked. "Because they were Jews," the policeman explained.

Hitlerism isn't dead. It is stalking the streets of America today. It even wears the uniforms of official "law and order."

A Letter to CP Members

By One Who Was Expelled in 1948 and Now Joins the Trotskyists

Seattle Wash.
Nov. 1, 1949

Dear Comrade:

I have decided to join the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyists.

I was not a Trotskyist when I was expelled a year and a half ago from the Communist Party. But serious study and reflection since then has convinced me that this is the only possible action for a revolutionary worker to take.

I would like to tell you how I came to that conclusion.

When in the CP, I shared for some time with a great many other party members a growing uneasiness over the apparent inability of the CP to outgrow the effects of Browderism; a rising irritation over the lack of confidence in or any genuine respect for the working people; a mounting frustration about the complete lack of democracy in the CP—the impossibility of registering any criticism, no matter how well thought out, in any way.

All these things, however, I attributed to a purely **local** situation and continued working in my own branch as best I could, waiting for the day when the national office would reach over and straighten things out.

The international state of the party I simply took for granted as I had done for the ten years I had been in the party.

THE YUGOSLAV EVENTS

Then the Yugoslavian situation broke. For years, we had heard nothing but the most glowing praise of Marshal Tito and the Yugoslavian people's movement as a whole. Then in less than a week we were expected to join in denouncing him **and all who worked with him** as the most traitorous, villainous, **uncommunistic** scoundrels in all Europe. This was really quite a lot to swallow.

"However," I reasoned, "whatever might be its weaknesses, the Communist Party is still the only vanguard of the working class." I believed what I was told — that the Trotskyists were fascists, betrayers of the revolution, agents of the police (well paid probably), and deliberate misleaders of the working class. I also believed that all other workers' parties and organizations — SP, IWW, Anarchists, SLP — could be lumped together and disposed of with the convenient title, "Trotskyite."

I remained loyal to the Communist Party and continued to engage in active work. It took my own expulsion to force me to analyze all my criticisms of the CP and to think them through to the end.

MY EXPULSION AND OTHERS

I was thoroughly aroused by the illogical, undemocratic, and unprincipled proceedings of my trial in which Eleanor Long and I were expelled in an atmosphere of disgusting hysteria, slanderous personal attacks, and wild accusations. My accusers and judges completely disregarded the solid support given me by my own branch — the people who knew me best.

I could not then shut out of my mind any longer the picture of other expulsions I had known about.

There was Gene Dennett. I knew Gene was a veteran party unionist with seventeen years in the party. I knew he had turned down a pie-card to work in industry. He was respected by Negro workers both in and out of the party, far more than most of the people who expelled him. Harriet Dennett, expelled with Gene, was cleared of the charge of being an FBI agent by her union local.

I thought of Betty Smith. I had worked with Betty. I knew of her devotion to children—the quantity and quality of work she had done in their interest. Mistaken she could be, but an FBI agent? Really! I had not much liked Ed Alexander but neither had I liked the "pot calling the kettle black" I saw going on in relation to his expulsion.

I remembered the disturbing stories told by seamen who had been in the San Francisco area at the time of the 1946 expulsions. Stories which, coming from so many people whose judgment I respected, were difficult to ignore.

I remembered Bernice Bellows, a hard working, loyal girl, expelled years ago for the crime, as I strongly suspected, of being smarter than her organizer.

There were many others. How many others? I wondered. Could these all be isolated cases?

A host of political questions came to my mind. Why the demoralization of the Spain vets, almost to a man, soon after their return? Why the sudden defeat of Spain, anyhow? Why had the French CP, with power in their hands, docilely handed over France to the bourgeoisie in 1944? The old unanswered question, "Why Browderism?" So Browder was a fool. Did that explain how an entire national committee of a Communist party could sit there quietly and let it happen? What had happened to Greece, to China? And again, what was going on in Yugoslavia, anyhow? And in the party of Marx and Lenin, how could all these things happen?

WHAT DID THEY FEAR?

Then for the first time it struck me — the hysteria about the Trotskyists — the gripping fear on the part of our leaders lest some of us might hear a Trotskyist talk. That could even go to the lengths of dismantling a healthy organization because there were a few Trotskyists in it. The refusal of our leaders to engage in open debate with Trotskyists.

I remembered a fine young man expelled from the YCL for **reading a Trotskyist paper**, no more.

Why were they so afraid for us to talk to Trotskyists? Was it really because they thought a substantial number of us would not have sense enough to recognize a correct line; or could it be because they were afraid we would? Didn't the whole thing look suspicious as hell?

I determined to find out for myself, and proceeded to do so.

I didn't jump to conclusions. I studied the history and works of Trotsky carefully. I closely associated with and observed members of the Socialist Workers Party. I went back over the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. This is what I found.

The theory of Socialism in one country cannot be reconciled with the theories of Marx and Lenin.

It was the necessary invention of the bureaucracy which grew up in the Soviet state and throughout the Third International after the death of Lenin.

This bureaucracy with its un-Marxian theory has been the fountainhead of a steady chain of needless defeats for the working class all over the world. It has been the direct cause of the omnipresent bureaucracy we have all been so well aware of here and that has shown its face time and again in the national committee.

Trotsky correctly criticized this bureaucracy and events proved him right as disaster piled on disaster throughout the years. Stalin and the other bureaucrats **knew** that the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution was the Marxist-Leninist line. They have persecuted and slandered Trotsky and his followers unceasingly because they could not afford for the workers of the world to hear what he had to say.

I have become convinced that the Socialist Workers Party is the real Marxist - Leninist party — capable of leading the working class to victory. Here is an organization that practices genuine democratic centralism, an organization in which the collective thinking we sought in the CP, and rarely found, is the rule rather than the exception. Here is an organization in which the philosophy of Karl Marx lives.

I do not ask you to take my word for this. I do ask you to study the question. I would welcome an opportunity to discuss these things with you in greater detail. I believe you owe it to yourself and to the working class to which I know you are devoted to hear what we have to say.

Comradely,
RUTH BROWN PORTER

Yugoslavia and the Stalinophobes

By George Breitman

The break between Stalin and Tito imposed on every tendency in the labor movement the necessity to take a position for or against the Yugoslav struggle for independence from the Kremlin. It wasn't difficult for the Trotskyists to see the progressive features of the Yugoslav struggle and the tremendous potentialities it held for unmasking Stalinism and destroying its influence over large numbers of revolutionary workers throughout the world. That was why we unhesitatingly took our place on the side of the Yugoslav rebels, without in any way abating our criticism of the wrong policies of their leaders. The Independent Socialist League (Shachtmanites) followed a different course.

At least in words, the ISL recognizes the struggle as "the biggest crisis" in the history of Stalinism, and Tito's resistance as one that will speed up "the whole process of disintegration within the Stalinist empire" if he survives. Furthermore, it concedes that the element of Yugoslavia's national independence is definitely involved in the conflict, and that in waging it Tito has the support of virtually the entire Yugoslav population. Nevertheless, the ISL refuses to lift a finger to help the Yugoslavs in their struggle.

CONTRADICTIONS

This abstentionist attitude seems all the more curious when we bear in mind that in the ISL conception of Stalin's "bureaucratic collectivist empire" the Tito regime is driven into conflict with the Kremlin by essentially "the same kind of impulsion that drives the rising bourgeoisie of a colonial country to seek increasing independence from the bigger capitalist nation that rules it."

In the case of a colonial struggle for independence from an imperialist country, the ISL is on record for support of the colonial country (with notable lapses such as China against Japan and India against Britain during the war). Why then does it withhold support from what it characterizes as an analagous struggle by Tito against "Stalinist imperialism"?

THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The mystery grows deeper when we recall (1) the ISL's oft-repeated boast that it is the only group that really understands how to apply the Leninist position on the national question to the present situation in Europe, and (2) the ISL's position on the Mikolajczyk movement in Poland.

Mikolajczyk was an agent of imperialism, whose program was the restoration of the reactionary pre-war Poland. Yet the ISL decided: "Without giving one iota of political support to Mikolajczyk but indeed fighting his influence over the Stalinist opposition, the task of the Marxists was to give unequivocal support to the struggle of the [national resistance] movement on which he temporarily rested."

Now the Yugoslav struggle certainly has many differences from that of Poland — for one thing, Tito is not an agent of imperialism. But according to the ISL, the element of national independence prevails in both situations and was decisive in determining its support of Mikolajczyk. Why then does it withhold support from the Yugoslavs?

The answer will be found in the Stalinophobia which increasingly dominates the ISL's politics and strategy. Demoralized by the degeneration of the first workers state and departing from the class analysis of events and movements, they make the presence or absence of "democracy" (divorced from its class content) their supreme criterion for arriving at political positions. Thus, in their concept Stalinism is the greatest danger in the world because its victory would mean world totalitarianism while under capitalism there are still some remnants of democracy. That is why they recoil from Stalinism with a fear and panic they do not exhibit toward capitalism or its agents.

POLITICAL PARALYSIS

Blinded by Stalinism to the point where they cannot even conceive of a progressive tendency developing out of a party that has split with the Kremlin, they keep repeating that Titoism is Stalinism, despite the unique origins of Titoism in the independent insurrectionary mass movement in Yugoslavia during the war and despite the fact that "Stalinism minus Kremlin control" is, by its very description, something new and different on the political scene. Their view that Titoism equals Stalinism not only relieves them of the need to analyze the direction in which Titoism is moving (whether to the right or left of Stalinism); it also dictates that they cannot have any more to do with the one than with the other.

This explains why — to use their own phrase — they can give unequivocal support to the movements led by the Mikolajczyks and the colonial bourgeoisie, but cannot give any kind of support, no matter how critical, to the movement led by Tito. For after all, Tito is a totalitarian while the colonial bourgeoisie and Mikolajczyk parade as "democrats." And that's what's decisive with Stalinophobes — so decisive, in fact, that it prevents them from intervening in "the biggest crisis" of Stalinism and limits their position to variations of a "plague on both your houses."

Embarrassed by the sterility of a position that clearly belies their claim to be the "best" fighters against Stalinism, the ISL convention this year adopted a resolution which only adds to the hopelessness of their contradictions. It said:

FURTHER CONFUSION

"Although the clash between Russia and Yugoslavia did not — as appeared possible at first — lead to an armed attack by Russia (directly or through a neighboring satellite) upon Yugoslavia for the purpose of bringing Tito into line, it can be stated that in this event the position of the anti-Stalinist workers should be to wish for the victory of Yugoslavia in its war against the invader; such support would have been determined by the nature of the war itself, limited to a duel between the two states, in which Tito's regime would be fighting for the national independence of the country as truly as this was the politics behind the Ethiopian side of its war with Italy. . . While, however, the conflict between the two totalitarian regimes remains propagandistic and diplomatic and on the bureaucratic level, the Marxists give no support whatever to the Tito-Stalinist regime in Yugoslavia but expose its reactionary character and identity with the Moscow regime, and seek to mobilize all popular support behind it."

The implied promise to support Tito in the event of war with the Kremlin will be taken with salt by those who remember that the Schachtmanites are rather lavish with such promises but that they often don't deliver on them when the time for payment comes around (as it did on their promise to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack).

But more important is the fact that the ISL supported Mikolajczyk while his conflict with the Kremlin remained "propagandistic and diplomatic and on a bureaucratic level." Why a different position on Tito today if, as they claim, both lead a national resistance movement? And if the "politics" of the Yugoslav struggle against the Kremlin is unworthy of support today, what will make it worthy of support tomorrow when it is extended on the level of armed conflict? What ever happened to the idea that war is the continuation of politics by other means?

"INDEPENDENT" POLITICS

Last year, when the Moscow-Belgrade split became public, Shachtman wrote: "Go to it, bandits! Deepen the rift between you!" This year his resolution adds in effect: "And I will support you, Bandit Tito — but only if you declare war on the Kremlin or if the Kremlin declares war on you." Determination of their position by what Stalin or Tito is forced to do — that is what passes under the name of "independent" politics in ISL circles.

Such a dilettante attitude toward "the biggest crisis" in the history of Stalinism is of benefit only to the Kremlin. It shows that Stalinophobia is not only a bridge to the camp of imperialism, it is also a roadblock in the way of revolutionary struggle against Stalinism.

ECONOMIC SITUATION REMAINS PRECARIOUS

(Continued from page 1)

boost shares to their highest levels in three years. And President Truman has officially declared that "the worst of the readjustment following the 1948 boom has been weathered." A rather cautious pronouncement under the circumstances for the super-optimist in the White House.

"Business upturn looks too good to be true to many businessmen," chimes in the weekly U. S. News in its issue of Nov. 25.

The reasons for this seemingly surprising caution are not hard to find. The domestic market, whose decline in October, 1948 signalled the so-called "recession" of almost one year's duration, shows as yet no signs of bouncing back. Dollar volume of retail sales continues to fall below last year's low levels. The effects of the recent strikes do not account for these declines because areas which remained unaffected by the strikes likewise registered the same trend.

MASS INCOMES SHRINK

The two main factors for this condition are the shrinking incomes of workers and farmers. Farm income has fallen this year by 13 percent; the drop will extend into next year as huge agricultural surpluses accumulate and farmers are compelled to cut production — and income — in order to qualify under the price-support program.

The slash in mass incomes of the workers has come from frozen wages, from layoffs and cutbacks. It is significant that the pick-up of the last few months left the unemployment situation just about where it was in July at the bottom of the slump. Improvements in some badly hit areas were balanced off by layoffs in others. Unemployment, in other words, has for the time being levelled off.

In production, the capital goods sector remains a big question mark. The rebound in consumers goods has not been strong enough to offset the dwindling and in many cases the suspension of plant expansions and re-equipment programs. John G. Forrest, financial editor of the N. Y. Times, cautiously points out "the durable goods manufacturers have not completed their readjustment, thereby remaining the vulnerable element in the business picture."

Finally, the effects of the worldwide trade war, set off by the recent currency devaluations, are still to make themselves fully felt on American exports and imports. Declining exports in the face of an increased inflow of competitive European goods could have serious repercussions in a relatively brief space of time.

To sum up, the economic situation remains highly unstable despite the pick-up since midsummer. There has still been no definitive reversal of the downward cycle, but merely a levelling off that may endure for several more months. This year, as last, the barometer to future trends is supplied by the Christmas sales. If these hold up, the pick-up will carry over into the first quarter of 1950. If the Christmas sales again flop, the downward trend will reassert itself.

Visit your local headquarters of the
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON—For information, write P.O. Box 1342.

BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 10 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p.m., social last Sat. of month.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 639 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun.

CHICAGO—166 W. Washington Blvd. Rm. 312-314. Daily except Sun., 11:30 to 3:30; or phone for an appointment.

CLEVELAND — Every Sunday, 9 p. m., Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.) Liberty 5606.

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6267, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m.

FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061.

LYNN, (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m.

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HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 38. Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion. Thurs., 8 p.m.

BRONX—Hunts Point Palace, 953 Southern Blvd; Room 25. Every Fri. night at 8:30 p.m.

BROOKLYN — Mandel's Manor, 343 Pennsylvania Ave., off Sutter, meetings every Thurs. evening at 8.

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PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open every Friday evening.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Forums 2nd Fri. each month. Marxist class 4 p.m. every Sat. Meetings every Thurs., 7:30 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.

ST. LOUIS — "For information, phone PR 5305."

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TOLEDO — Address inquiries to Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 1502, Toledo 3.

WORCESTER, (Mass.) — For information write P.O. Box 554, Worcester.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIII — MONDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1949 — NUMBER 48

Overdue Notice to the FBI

By Ruth Johnson

"I will not discuss anyone in private with any government investigator." These are the words of columnist Bernard DeVoto, in a blunt article titled "Due Notice to the FBI." His defiance of the American Gestapo, printed in the October issue of **Harper's Magazine**, deserves the attention and applause of every fighter for civil liberties.

"I like a country where it's nobody's damned business what magazines anyone reads, what he thinks, whom he has cocktails with. I like a country where we do not have to stuff the chimney against listening ears and where what we say does not go into the FBI files along with a note from S-17 that I may have another wife in California. I like a country where no college-trained flatfleet collect memoranda about us and ask judicial protection for them, a country where when someone makes statements about us to officials he can be held to account. We had that kind of country only a little while back and I'm for getting it back. It was a lot less scared than the one we've got now."

DeVoto draws far too pretty a picture of the prewar days. The secret police has been used to hound labor militants and supposed radicals for decades, as the Palmer Raids of 1920 proved. He excuses the 1939-1945 record of the G-men by calling their "enormous asininities and enormous injustices" an inevitable "part of the cost of the war."

We who have consistently warned of Washington's secret police, take no part in condoning any chapter of its inquisitorial history. But the very fact that DeVoto is a former supporter of the FBI makes his opposition all the more significant and heartening.

He writes a scathing indictment of the government's use of stool-pigeons and reliance on unsupported evidence. He cites the fantastic evidence in the trial of Judith Coplon, and the vicious secret hearings of the Loyalty Board under Truman's infamous Executive Order. He assails the FBI dossiers as "a hash of gossip, rumor, slander, backbiting, malice and drunken inventions which, when it makes the headlines, shatters the reputations of innocent and harmless people and of people who our laws say are innocent until someone proves them guilty in court. . . We know that the thing stinks to high heaven, that it is an avalanching danger to our society."

There are no figures in his article on the extent of this monstrous evil. But the federal budget of 1948 made provision for over 11,000 FBI personnel, while part-time informers, stool-pigeons and self-appointed snoopers bask and flourish in the glow of the witch-burning fires.

"A single decade has come close to making us a nation of common informers," DeVoto warns. His own answer to the question "What to do about it?" boils down to the following personal challenge to the FBI:

"From now on any representative of the government, properly identified, can count on a drink and perhaps informed talk about the Red (but non-Communist) Sox at my house. But if he wants information from me about anyone whomsoever, no soap. If it is my duty as a citizen to tell what I know about someone, I will perform that duty under subpoena, in open court, before that person and his attorney. This notice is posted in the court-house square: I will not discuss anyone in private with any government investigator."

Plight of the 'Braceros'

By Juan Suares

The film "Border Incident" purports to tell the story of a group of Mexican agricultural workers (**braceros**) who are smuggled across the border to work on ranches in California's Imperial Valley. They are paid substandard wages and cannot appeal to the law for "protection" beacuse of their illegal status. Their plight is pictured as an isolated case, owing entirely to the activity of some criminals, with the police presented as their benevolent guardians.

But whether unwittingly or deliberately — in order to explain away a real problem — Hollywood has here touched upon a few of the vicious conditions imposed upon the great mass of Mexican agricultural workers in this area, illegal entrants, legal entrants and American citizens alike.

The raising of fruit and vegetables on a mass production basis in the irrigated valleys of California requires large numbers of workers for short periods of time. The history of this industry has been one attempt after another to find a labor force which would appear on the scene when needed, toil for bare subsistence wages, then disappear after the season's work was done. This sounds like a "fair deal" for the capitalist ranchers if they could get it. It also happens to be a little too much to expect.

It might perhaps be possible to keep the workers docile so long as they were kept working, even at low wages, but trouble is bound to arise when hundreds of thousands suddenly find themselves without jobs and without savings. To keep the workers unorganized under such conditions requires the full utilization of the most repressive devices: fascist terror in the form of vigilante groups, utter ruthlessness by the authorities, and connected with these and supplementing them, the most virulent weapon of all, racial prejudice.

In the past, large number of Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and other ethnic groups were imported. More recently, destitute families from the dust bowl and Negroes from the South have also toiled in this industry under some of the worst conditions. In every case the workers have been segregated wherever possible, and racial divisions between the groups have been manufactured and fostered by the local press, police, etc. The largest group used at present are the Mexicans.

They happen to be the most convenient from the management's standpoint. In a period of rising unemployment the Mexican and American governments signed an agreement by which 40,000 Mexican nationals would be moved into the San Joaquin Valley.

Mexican nationals can be admitted on temporary permits or by deliberate laxity of the border patrols during the working season. They can be super-exploited, deprived of citizen rights, and then kicked out of the country when so longer needed. American workers of Mexican ancestry are treated at best as second class citizens and enjoy only slightly better conditions.

The Di Giorgio strike which gained national prominence shows how the corporation farmers actually handle the problem. This strike involved Americans of Mexican origin many of whom were active militants. The owners of the Di Giorgio ranch with the help of the U. S. State Department brought in "legal" Mexican nationals to break the strike.

The Mexican worker is not the comic opera character Hollywood writers love so much. There are healthy indications that he is begining to realize that a united struggle by all the workers is the only road to solution of his problems.

Fight Continues on Toledo Pensions As Layoffs Grow

TOLEDO, Nov. 19 — Now that the pension strikes have been settled in the steel industry, the local UAW leaders have served notice on the companies that it is time "to get down to business" here. The corporations have maintained a solid front up to now in refusing to accept the area-wide pension plan proposed by the union.

From the tone of the union's demand that serious negotiations begin and that the corporations submit an alternative plan if they have one, it is clear that no progress has been made up to now in securing a basis for an agreement.

Meanwhile, the propaganda battle has continued in the papers, at meetings and over the radio. The latest recruits to the millionaire-sponsored Committee to Save Toledo's Payrolls, which is spearheading opposition to the union, include the Toledo Small Business Association.

This outfit received notoriety a few months ago by attempting to establish a red-hunting censorship of text books used in schools in this city. Public opposition compelled them to abandon this scheme at that time. The union-busting committee recently claimed over 3,000 members had joined their ranks.

The time is rapidly approaching when the union will have to bring matters to a head with a strike call, if no progress is made in negotiations. The situation here is complicated by large layoffs that have thrown 30,000 workers out on the streets. Some 5,000 to 6,000 of these have been laid off in the last week and it is reported that more layoffs are coming.

There is a strong suspicion that some of these layoffs were made to weaken the bargaining position of the union in the pension dispute. However, the sentiment of the workers continues to back the union and in case of any strikes, the union ranks will be solid.

Next Week:

R. Bell will resume his series on the background of the current Trotskyist-baiting campaign by the leaders of the Seafarers International Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

Cops Guard Curranites

Guarded by New York police, Guy Savio, a leader of the Curran machine in the National Maritime Union, leaves union headquarters after fighting which erupted when opponents of Curran refused to surrender the hiring hall and the right to elect their own officials.

Full Text of SP Resolution

The following is the full text of the resolution passed by the majority of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and recommended for adoption by a national convention of the SP next spring:

1. We can no longer escape a basic re-evaluation of the Socialist Party's electoral policy in relation to our success in spreading the message of Socialism, in building our own organization and in paving the way for a new political alignment. We must not allow our electoral policy to be decided by tradition, by drift or to go by default.

There are basic factors in the current political situation which must be openly acknowledged and candidly discussed in the councils of the party. The ultimate decision must be reached by a national convention which should be preceded by thorough-going party discussion. In launching this discussion the National-Executive Committee urges upon the party a basic approach as set forth below.

2. Electoral campaigns should be run by sections of the Socialist Party only when the following conditions are met:

a. Local and state bodies should nominate candidates only where the resources and morale of the party permit an impressive and truly educational campaign.

b. Candidates should not be nominated where a campaign would contribute, or seem to our potential supporters to contribute, to the triumph of reactionary candidates and policies opposed by labor and liberal forces. This does not imply, however, that the Socialist Party, as such, should endorse candidates of either of the two major parties.

c. There are, however, areas where the possibility of winning or maintaining the Socialist place on the ballot is such as to require the running of one or more candidates. In such cases care should be taken in choosing the posts to be filled so as to minimize the danger of violating the principles set forth above. We urge state and local bodies to consult with the NEC in these matters.

3. Section two of the resolution constitutes an explicit abandonment of electoral action as the primary function of the Socialist Party. It becomes necessary to develop a basically new role for the Party so that a more effective and systematic program of education for Socialism may be adopted and put into action.

Necessarily, such a program will deal with the manner and extent to which the Party, as an organization, or individual Socialists should work in organizations like the AFL's Labor's League for Political Education, the CIO's Political Action Committee, or Americans for Democratic Action and through them participate in electoral action in one of the major parties.

The NEC strongly urges on Party locals pre-convention discussion of our educational function in all its aspects.

Democratic Socialism requires a mass electoral party consciously devoted to it. Conceivably such a party might be achieved by the basic conversion of one of the major parties. We believe it far more likely — and definitely preferable — that it will be achieved by the establishment in the electoral field of a party like the British Labor Party or the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation for which we long have worked. In any case the active existence of the Socialist Party continually working for Socialism along lines suggested in this resolution is essential.

CORRECTION

By an error the vote for the Joseph Glass, Socialist Party candidate for Mayor, was omitted from last week's report on the New York election returns. According to the Police Department report, Glass got 3,434 votes as compared with the 26,742 cast for Norman Thomas in New York City in 1948.

Edwards' Defeat Marks Setback For PAC Policy

DETROIT — The defeat of George Edwards for Mayor of Detroit struck a severe blow at the Michigan CIO's policy of working within the Democratic Party. Running as a Democrat in a city which is a Democratic stronghold, at a time when Democrats elsewhere in the nation were making gains, Edwards suffered the worst defeat of any local "labor candidate" for Mayor since 1937.

His opponent, Albert E. Cobo, a former high executive of the Burroughs Adding Machine Corporation and City Treasurer for the past 14 years, got 309,067 votes while Edwards got 203,957 — **or less than the number he received two years ago when he was elected President of the Common Council.**

The CIO attempted to sell Edwards, a national ADA vice-president, one-time socialist and UAW member, on the basis of his being a Democrat. This was the Number One point in his program. When attacked by the press for his union background and radical past, he retreated into the shadows of respectability by declaring himself a loyal Democrat.

However, the party-line vote never materialized. Furthermore, Edwards' emphasis on his party connections gave the kept press ammunition to attack him and the CIO leaders for injecting "party politics" into a "non-partisan" election. The more the vested interests attacked him, the more he steered clear of controversial issues.

ALIENATED MILITANTS

Edwards succeeded in antagonizing the most progressive and militant workers when he not only warmly endorsed the anti-labor City Charter Amendment creating a "loyalty" investigating committee for municipal workers but even boasted that he had written it.

His opportunist deals estranged much of the Negro community too. While he campaigned on a promise to fire the hated police commissioner, Harry S. Toy, his own slate of councilmanic candidates was headed by former Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, renowned for his reactionary role in the anti-Negro riots of 1943.

Apathy toward his campaign was further increased when the CIO leadership refused to endorse Rev. Charles A. Hill, the only Negro candidate for Common Council, because Hill's name appeared on a two-man slate with that of Stanley Nowak, former State Senator reputed to be a fellow traveler of the Communist Party. (Even without CIO support, Hill ran 14th in a field of 18 from which nine were elected.)

The program of Edwards and the CIO was bereft of any concrete proposals to defend or better the living conditions of Detroit's workers. It consisted of vague campaign oratory generalities — federal funds for housing, lower taxes, reorganization of the public transportation system. Edwards apparently was not helped by his actions during eight years as a member of the Common Council. He attempted to be all things to all people. **When he denounced Cobo as a "Republican businessman and tax collector," his rival was able to answer that Edwards himself was secretary of a small corporation.**

FALSE THEORY

The defeat of Edwards showed the falseness of the theory that the union movement must bury itself inside one of the capitalist parties in order to win political victories. Edwards, running as a Democrat, lost by over 20% of the total vote cast. Richard T. Frankensteen, a UAW vice-president who ran as an independent labor candidate in 1945, lost by only 11% of the total.

It may be argued that Edwards would have been elected if the old-line Democrats had united behind him instead of bolting. The facts will not bear this out. A check of the voting districts shows that the apathy of the working class was a greater factor than the opposition of the regular Democrats in Edwards' defeat.

But even if it were true, doesn't it show how stupid it is for the unions to rely on capitalist politicians who are ready to bolt their own ticket rather than let the labor leaders take over their party? Doesn't it reveal that merely taking over the bosses' political machinery does not serve to mobilize and inspire the workers to action? Doesn't it prove that what the workers need is their own political party, their own candidates, their own program?

Seamen Fight Curran Dictatorship Drive

(Cont. from page 1)

referendum for ratification. A 60-day referendum is now in progress, to conclude on Dec. 31.

The Curran gang realized that their first attempt to push over the yellow-dog admendments was defeated because (1) the opposition controlled the Port of New York which gave them access to approximately half the membership of the entire union and (2) the pages of the NMU paper, **The Pilot**, were opened to all points of view, thus providing a democratic discussion of the issues involved. The Curranites decided not to take any chances with their second attempt to straitjacket the ranks.

RIGID CENSORSHIP

First, the **Pilot** was converted into a factional weapon against the opposition. The opposition and its leaders were slandered, vilified and deprived of their right to reply. Only material supporting the position of the Curran crew was published. A rigid censorship was clamped on in violation of constitutional provisions governing the conduct of internal discussion on disputed questions.

An opposition leader, Vice-President Lawrenson, in charge of Pilot, Publicity and Education was arbitrarily stripped of his authority. A new editor and assistant editor were appointed without the necessary membership approval. These were but a few of the bureaucratic measures imposed by the self-styled advocates of "free speech" everywhere — except in the NMU!

With the **Pilot** operating under Curranite gag-rule, the next move was against the Port of New York. Immediately following the NMU convention the National Council met to authorize a bureaucratic blitz against Port Agent Drummond. A few days later the National Office appointed Vice-President Warner as administrator over the port. A special membership meeting condemned the attempted seizure and authorized Drummond to take whatever measures were necessary to defend the right of the membership to be represented by their own elected officials. A regular membership meeting concurred in this action by a huge majority.

TEMPORARY RETREAT

This show of resistance compelled a temporary retreat on the part of the Curran clique. The port continued to function as usual, with "administrator" Warner retiring to the background. During this entire period the national leadership had no answer to the burning problems of the seamen. Unemployment mounted, conditions aboard ship deteriorated, shipowner arrogance became insufferable, the blacklist flourished and union militants were victimized and fired for attempting to enforce the agreement.

To all this Curran had but one answer: "Keep 'Em Sailing! No job action! Dump the aliens and kick out the reds! The sole concern was to carry forward the witch-hunt. Are members grumbling about conditions aboard ship? — gag them! Do the unemployed want jobs? — divert them into hounding the "reds." Does the opposition insist on the democratic right to criticize the leadership? — purge them!

Meeting after membership meeting adopted proposals, motions, resolutions, embodying measures to deal with the union's problems, protests against gag-rule of the **Pilot**, demands for recognition of democratic rights. With studied contempt the bureaucrats ignored and flouted the actions of the membership.

Goaded, finally, by the outrageous conduct of the leadership, charges were brought against President Curran and Treasurer M. Hedley Stone, by Port Agent Drummond. It was then that all hell broke loose!

CURRAN'S PRESTIGE

Under the NMU constitution a national officer brought on charges is tried by a rank and file committee elected at a regular membership meeting in the Port of New York. Curran is a prestige politician. As a CIO "labor statesman" he is extremely jealous of his "social" standing in the bureaucratic fraternity. At such gatherings as the CIO convention he cuts a great swathe as hatchetman for Murray against the discredited Stalinist minority. But within his own union he carefully avoids a test of strength before the membership unless he is more than reasonably sure in advance to emerge victorious.

In the recent period, for example, Curran hasn't dared run for chairman of a New York membership meeting against any candidate of the opposition although six months ago he ran regularly and was unbeatable. He has lost the support of the New York membership and he knows it. Under the circumstances, he had no intention of facing charges in the Port of New York, if he could prevent it. And to prevent it the Curran machine set in motion the train of events leading to the so-called "red revolt."

WARNER STEPS IN

A few days after the National Office had received the charges against Curran, Vice-President Warner descended on the Port of New York, announced he was taking over as administrator, took the keys off Port Agent Drummond, "fired" Assistant Agent Eddie Costello, and installed his own man in charge. At the same time it was announced that President Curran had left for Texas to address a State CIO convention; Secretary Neal Hanley had left for the rivers on "union business"; Treasurer M. Hedley Stone had left for Europe and opposition Vice-President Jack Lawrenson had been sent to the Lakes.

With the decks thus cleared for action the blitzkrieg was launched. Uniformed police and detectives threw a cordon around the block in which the NMU hall was situated. The New York membership rallied around their elected officials in determined resistance to the power-grab of the Curran machine. In the face of this resistance the would-be dictators took refuge in the National Office on the sixth floor of the building housing the offices and hiring hall of the New York Port.

Meanwhile reports filtered in that Curran supporters were being mobilized in the outports to invade New York and take over the membership meeting. President Curran's "Mission to Texas" and Secretary Hanley's trip to the rivers provided a convenient pretext for a junket to panic members into coming to New York to stave off the "red revolt."

SWARMING WITH COPS

When members from New York arrived to attend their regular membership meeting at St. Nicholas Arena they found the place swarming with uniformed cops and plain clothesmen. Port members were refused admittance until chartered buses disgorged their contingent of Curran supporters from other ports. As the Curranites entered the hall they were handed "master-of-arms" insignia. It was estimated that over 500 men were transported to New York to attend and take over the meeting.

When the New York members were permitted to enter the hall they were greeted with a never-to-be-forgotten sight. There on the platform sat the top officials of their union, flanked by a lawyer, uniformed cops, detectives, newspaper reporters and photographers. The N. Y. Times reports that the police detail consisted of an "Inspector, a captain, one lieutenant, seven sergeants, seventy-five foot patrolmen, ten mounted policemen under a sergeant, forty detectives and four detective officers."

Although a Federal Court restraining order was served on the National Officers by a U. S. Marshal at the meeting hall, the police took their orders from Curran who had Port Agent Drummond forcibly removed from the platform. In defiance of the restraining order, Vice-President Warner opened the meeting. For the first time in months Curran accepted the nomination for the chair against opposition candidate Charlie Keith. This time, you see, he felt reasonably sure of winning. He had his cops, he had his imported supporters, he had his own "master-of-arms" counters.

However, when Warner asked for a show of hands Curran must have gotten the shock of his life. For outside of his own bus loads of followers only a few hands were raised. When the vote for Keith was called a sea of hands went up all over the hall. It was easily a five to one vote against Curran. Warner hemmed and hawed for a few moments, asked for another show of hands in which his candidate made an even worse showing and then declared Curran elected without taking a count.

CURRAN'S "MEETING"

This was so raw the membership howled down every attempt by Curran to continue the meeting. With the hall in bedlam, Curran consulted with his lawyer and then proceeded to "elect" one of his stooges secretary by "acclamation." The stooge read off a list of charges, which nobody could hear above the din in the hall, against the 14 opposition officials in the Port of New York. The charges were declared accepted by Curran and the meeting adjourned.

But several thousand members sat and refused to budge. Curran took off with his police bodyguard, his lawyer, his reporters and photographers. Along with him went the group from the outports — not all of them, as some had their eyes opened by what they saw at the meeting and stayed to participate in the rank and file membership meeting that followed.

The meeting reconvened, accepted the charges against Curran and Stone by a vote of 1858 to 4, elected a 15-man trial committee, transacted its business in an orderly manner and then adjourned to continue the fight for a democratic, militant, rank and file union.

SP URGED TO ABANDON ELECTORAL ACTIVITIES

(Continued from Page 1)

SP when it states: "It becomes necessary to develop a basically new role for the Party so that a more effective and systematic program of education for Socialism may be adopted and put into action." This "effective" program for "socialism," according to the further claims of the resolution, "will deal with the manner and extent to which the Party, as an organization or individual Socialists, should work in organizations like the AFL's Labor's League for Political Education, the CIO's Political Action Committee, or Americans for Democratic Action and through them participate in electoral action in one of the major parties." (Our emphasis.)

The SP, according to the resolution, would still engage "as such" in its own electoral activity — provided this does not "seem" out of line with the politics of "our potential supporters" — only "where the resources and morale of the party permit an impressive and truly educational campaign." Since such "resources and morale" have long been absent in the SP there will be little electoral activity under this leading.

The resolution expresses the hope that there may be achieved a mass party of "socialism" in this country along the lines of the reformist British Labor Party or the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. It does not exclude, however, the possibility that "conceivably such a party might be achieved by the basic conversion of one of the major parties."

ADOPTION EXPECTED

Adoption of this resolution at the SP national convention appears almost certain, since the resolution is supported by the most influential SP leaders.

The SP's formal abandonment of independent opposition to the capitalist political machines on the electoral field — that is, abandonment of opposition to capitalism itself — has long been expected. The SP has been politically insolvent for many years, and has been seeking receivership in the Social Democratic Federation. The policy of "limited electoral activity" is intended to expedite the SP's absorption in the SDF, which is engaged completely in capitalist politics.

V. R. Dunne's Tour On Civil Rights

San Francisco-Oakland — Dec. 4-7.
Los Angeles — Dec. 10-13.
St. Louis — Dec. 17.
Chicago — Dec. 18-21.
Milwaukee — Dec. 23.
Chicago — Dec. 24-25.
Toledo — Dec. 27.
Detroit — Dec. 28-31.
Flint — Dec. 29-30.
Detroit — Jan. 1-2.
Cleveland — Jan. 3-4.
Akron — Jan. 5.
Youngstown — Jan. 6-7.
Pittsburgh — Jan. 8.
Morgantown — Jan. 9.
Buffalo — Jan. 12-14.
Rochester — Jan. 13.
Boston — Jan. 15-16.
Lynn — Jan. 17.
Worcester — Jan. 18.
New Britain — Jan. 19.
New Haven — Jan. 20.
New York — Jan. 21.
Philadelphia — Jan. 22-23.
Allentown — Jan. 24.
Reading — Jan. 25.
New York — Jan. 26.
Newark — Jan. 27.